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D. N. PRITT, K.C.

The Truth About Russia

YEARS

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FOR VALUE RECEIVED

I NOTICE that a contemporary journal in a blurb addressed to advertisers, points out that their circulation has increased largely through readers recommending it to their friends, sometimes 'actually paying an initial subscription. Could any higher tribute be paid to a periodical?' That made me chuckle, for I judge that nine-tenths of our readers met the *Labour Monthly* through personal recommendation, and that very many indeed were *given* their first copy by an ardent reader and friend. Not that our readers are so flush as those of our more well-to-do contemporary. For example, a Londoner wrote last week: 'Send me another September copy which I want to give a friend. I wish every member of the Labour Party had this particular copy of R.P.D.'s Notes, but as an Old Age Pensioner I can't afford to pay for more than one extra copy'. Again from London, an engineer writes about increasing our circulation: 'I'm doing all I can to get my workmates in the factory to read it, for I don't think anyone can do so and remain unimpressed by R.P.D.'s Notes and the other articles and reviews'. Then there is the Lancashire man who describes it as 'the dynamo of the working class'; and adds: 'Since I first saw it, L.M. has been a "monthly must" for me, and I dare not risk missing it. You'll be pleased to know that I have just got five new regular readers, and I'm out for more'. Down in a Southern County, the Chairman of the Communist Party Branch writes: 'Last month we had an evening's discussion on the Notes of the Month. We consider they give the best obtainable comprehensive review of the month and intend to make this a regular item in our monthly programme'. And from an Eastern County comes news of a local Labour Party Chairman who in one week got 14 new regular readers' orders placed through the local newsagent. As our contemporary's blurb remarks, in boosting itself as an ideal advertising medium to its brewer, banker and big industrialist customers: 'the recommendation and goodwill of such readers can be as valuable to an advertiser as it has been to the paper itself'. Make that, in our case, 'valuable to the whole Labour and progressive movement in Britain'. (Advertisers wanting to reach the best people of this kind might well note, too.)

THE KOREA HANDBOOK

I notice that a remarkable number of new readers refer to the deep impression which Mr. Pritt's pamphlet *Light on Korea* has made, and how this convinced them they should read more on the same subject in *Labour Monthly*. No doubt our latest publication, the *Korea Handbook*, which incorporates that out-of-print pamphlet as well as the selections from R.P.D.'s Notes which so many people praise, and other good things, will have much the same effect. (For details see back page of cover.)

It is not too early to start reminding you of two other schemes which we begin to get busy about at this time of the year. Firstly, we shall again be running our *Labour Monthly* Subscription Gift Token for Christmas and the New Year, the rates unchanged at 12s. for one token, £1 1s. for two tokens, and £1 10s. for three tokens. Then, readers who want to be sure of

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Notes of the Month

Creators and Destroyers

'The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilisation rest on the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army'.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR IN 1942 (quoted in 'The White House Papers of Harry Hopkins', Vol. II, p. 502).

EIGHT years have passed since General MacArthur wrote those words. To-day on the thirty-third anniversary of the victorious Russian Revolution the hopes of civilisation rest more than ever on the shining example, the indomitable strength, and the calm, courageous leadership of the Socialist Soviet Union and the fight for peace which it is leading, with Stalin at the head, to save mankind from the horrors of a third world war. But the hopes of barbarism rest on General MacArthur and his war-drunk associates, the

Trumans, Churchills, Achesons and Attlees who have taken over from Fascism the rôle of the Vandals of the modern world.

After Thirty-three Years

‘To build up cities an age is needed; an hour destroys them’. Seneca, the tutor of Nero, wrote this nineteen centuries ago. But Seneca wrote before the age of the Anglo-American strategic bomber and the atom bomb. It took the liberated Korean people five years of unremitting creative labour of twenty thousand workers to build the steel mill in North Korea, their pride and pledge of a happier future. It took two Yankee airmen sixty seconds to destroy it. On this thirty-third anniversary it would have been a more fitting and a more thankful task to turn aside from the jungle politics and economics of the West, with its ceaseless beating of the war drums, and to write of the miracles of creative achievement of the Soviet people, whose thoughts and deeds are turned entirely to peace and construction. In five short years they have overcome even the limitless wreckage and devastation caused by Fascism—that typical product of Western monopoly barbarism—and reached new heights of social abundance and production for the people, at the same time as the scars and wreckage of the blitz, with one fiftieth the destruction, still lie untended and unrepaired in the cities of Britain, because all resources are turned to war.

Construction and Destruction

But the jungle, until finally cleared, ever threatens the work of civilised man. All the giant industrial plants, the teeming harvests, the new power projects, the new universities and schools, the hospitals and sanatoria, the crèches and kindergartens, arouse only one thought in the minds of the champions of ‘Western culture’—how to destroy them. ‘The use of the atomic bomb’, proclaimed Churchill gloatingly, in his Strasbourg speech last August, ‘would shake the foundations of the Soviet régime throughout the vast areas of Russia’ and lead to ‘the breakdown of communications and centralised control’. Such were also the dreams of Churchill thirty-three years ago. Such were the dreams and boasts of Hitler ten years ago. Such are the dreams and boasts of Churchill to-day. The confrontation of two worlds—of civilisation and barbarism—has reached a new height on this thirty-third anniversary.

Civilisation and Barbarism

Never was the contrast of two worlds so inescapable and glaring as to-day. The triumphs of the Soviet Union during these five post-

war years are triumphs of peace. Alone of the Great Powers the Soviet Union is not engaged in war. The United States, Britain, France, all are engaged in aggressive colonial wars, in invading the countries of other peoples, burning down their homes and destroying their means of livelihood, in bombing hospitals and massacring women and children. The worst records of Nazism on the Eastern Front, or of Japan in East Asia, would have to be searched to find the parallel of the horrors perpetrated in Korea, Vietnam or Malaya. The Attlees and the Bevins may proclaim to a Labour Party Conference their concern only for peace, collective security or defence; but in their actions they have shown themselves the authors and accomplices of aggression and barbarity.

Nazi Whitewash

And to cap the spectacle of human degradation, not only has the mass press in this country refused to print the facts and the photographs which reveal the crimes committed in the name of the people, but the sanctimonious *Economist* goes out of its way to denounce, not the crimes, but the Soviet Union for exposing them and protesting against them.

Soviet propaganda is now conducting an outright atrocity campaign against the American army which seems to call for some official protest. (October 14.)

So also Nazism called the exposure of its crimes and mass murders an 'atrocity campaign' inspired by Jewish-Communism. No doubt the New Enlighteners of the *Economist* and Transport House and the B.B.C. will get round to this discovery also in time. Indeed, already in the same spirit the same issue of the *Economist* has discovered that the Scottsboro infamy, that classic demonstration of American racial terror, was really the responsibility of the Communists because they fought against it: 'the Communists are responsible for at least part of his seventeen years in prison for a crime he never committed'.

Kill thy physician and the fee bestow
Upon thy foul disease.

Economics for Death or for Life

The economics of the Soviet Union are the economics of peace and socialist construction; of rising standards and falling prices; and of social welfare on a scale no society has ever before attempted. Every increase of output leads to immediate increase in well-being. Even in spite of the grudging needs of defence against the open,

ceaseless, unconcealed war clamour, offensive preparations and 'preventive war' threats of the Western Yahoos, the proportion of resources devoted to the armed services has been brought down from 26 per cent. of the Budget in 1939, and 40 per cent. in 1940, the last year of peace, to 19 per cent. in 1949 and 18½ per cent. in 1950. The economics of the Western capitalist world are the economics of war and rearmament. The spectre of impending economic crisis in the spring and early summer of 1950 was staved off by the 'Korea boom' and the new arms programmes, which were openly welcomed in the financial press as saviours.

Wall Street to-day spurted to its highest peak for 19 years, railway, steel, oil, cars, chemicals, metals and rubber leading the advances. At the close the average was up £29 10s.—the best since 1931. (*News Chronicle*, 23.9.50.)

'Where the carcase is, there will the vultures be gathered'. Arms expenditure in Britain is already reaching four times the 1939 level, with further increases in prospect, and in the United States fifteen times the level of 1939, to be doubled or raised to thirty times by next year. The price is paid in new burdens and sacrifices, which make a mockery of all the Tory and Labour Conference platform promises of reducing the cost of living; in falling standards and rising prices. Increased production goes down the drain of war.

Science for Death or for Life

Atomic energy means for Soviet civilisation the power to change the face of nature, to bring abundance where before there was desert. Atomic energy means for the Western barbarians—the atom bomb. Science in the Soviet Union serves the aims of social progress and human well-being, to lighten labour, extend resources and enrich life; its equipment and needs are furnished without stint by society for these common aims, not grudgingly by monopolies for private patents or lavishly by war boards for the production of disease germs; its findings are published, and its mighty controversies shared by the people. Science in the barbarian world of millionaire domination is directed, controlled and driven into the strait-waistcoat of the war machine; 82.5 per cent. of Government endowment of research in Britain, or £103 million out of £125 million, is directly for war, leaving only 17.5 per cent. for all social and industrial needs and university research; its findings are increasingly kept secret and hidden behind thick 'security' curtains; and its practitioners are subjected to elaborate 'security screening' and political 'loyalty' tests of fidelity to the war machine and to imperialism.

The priceless work of the French Atomic Energy Institute of Joliot-Curie, the glory of Western science, is dealt a crippling blow by his dismissal, under the orders of American militarists and obscurantists, because he courageously reaffirmed his intention to develop his work as a scientist only for peaceful purposes and the benefit of humanity. The old Hippocratic Oath is turned upside down by the modern barbarians. The new Inquisition finds new crimes.

Culture for Death or for Life

Culture in the Soviet Union means life more abundant: the opening of the treasurehouse of the human inheritance, the availability of the classics of literature of every age and nation, of opera, the drama, concerts, as well as facilities for recreation and sport and leisure, to the scores of millions of the entire people, on a scale which outstrips all the countries of the capitalist world put together. The culture of socialist realism is directed towards the enrichment of life in harmony with the social aims of the new humanity: to quicken sympathy, understanding and awareness; shatter prejudice and backwardness; kindle the inspiration of human progress and of the panorama of mankind's struggle for freedom; to open new horizons and the sense of human dignity; and to unite the highest ideals of the greatest thinkers and artists in living association with the thought and feelings and experience and activity of the entire people of the new society. Culture in the Coca-colonial Empire of the Dollar Moguls means either the shrivelled sterility of academic anæmia and cowardice, and the ivory towers of tiny mass-hating cliques, or, as purveyed on a mass scale by the monopolist controllers, the glorification of violence, brutality, gangsterism and war; the decoration of sordid slavery and petty egoism with romantic tinsel; contempt for every human ideal; the inculcation of race hatred and every anti-social outlook; pessimism, the cult of the irrational and superstition; moral degeneracy and human degradation.

It Moves

On this Thirty-Third Anniversary of the first victorious socialist revolution the dawn of the new era is already advancing towards the noontide of full day. In vain the Achesons and the Austins may manipulate the servile votes of their handful of hired retainers at Lake Success in order to sanctify their bloodstained manœuvres and brigandage under the mantle of 'the verdict of the majority of mankind'. The majority is no longer with them. Even the puppet gov-

ernments in their pay who provide them with their mechanical caucus majority in the Assembly or the Council can no longer claim to be governments of more than a minority of the population of the world. The majority of the world's population is represented by the governments who oppose, abstain or are excluded—the opponents of the Anglo-American bloc.

Lenin's Prediction

Already in 1923, twenty-seven years ago, Lenin wrote of the decisive majority of mankind, represented by Russia, China, India and the colonial peoples, as the guarantee of the world victory of socialism:

In the last analysis, the upshot of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that during the past few years has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured.

(Lenin, 'Better Fewer, But Better', *Pravda*, March 4, 1923.)

Last year, on the Thirty-Second Anniversary, referring to this prediction of Lenin, we were able to celebrate the completion of the victory of the Chinese People's Republic under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. To-day the alignment of India, even under the Government which was set up by imperialism to serve as its satellite and protégé, can no longer be counted on by the Anglo-American bloc, and has taken, under the overwhelming pressure of popular national anti-imperialist feeling, the first hesitant steps towards association with China and the Soviet Union in opposition to the latest decisions of the Anglo-American bloc on Korea and on the Acheson Plan for wrecking the United Nations.

India Moves

New currents are stirring in India. The mighty example of the victory of the Chinese Republic is exercising its profound effect on all the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia in the imperialist orbit, and not least on India. The war of aggression of Western imperialism against the Korean people has aroused the outspoken anger and indignation of the widest sections of opinion in India. The new international alignment, with the leading rôle of Free China in Asia to-day, with the close diplomatic association established, no less than the internal situation and the powerful current

of anti-imperialist feeling within India, is exercising its influence on the Nehru Government, which, while still maintaining its internal anti-popular policy, while still maintaining its links with imperialism, seeks to find a new path and to build close relations with the Chinese People's Republic. Even the partial oppositional stand of Nehru against the current policies of the Anglo-American bloc has aroused the vehement denunciation of the Anglo-American official press ('The news from India these days is shocking', writes the *New York Times*; 'Americans are sorely disappointed with the policies pursued by Prime Minister Nehru concerning Korea'; Nehru's policy is described as 'timid, shortsighted and irresponsible'). A new perspective is opening in India. The shackles of the 1947 settlement will not last. Once the popular movement finds the way to overcome the weaknesses and divisions of the recent phase, and to advance along the path of a common programme and common action to build up the mighty national front of all classes, parties, groups and organisations willing to defend the national independence and freedom of India against imperialism and its satellites, with the close alliance of the working class and the peasantry as the pivot of the national front, a new page will open in the history of the Indian Revolution.

Madmen's War

With every day that passes the ruling imperialists of the Anglo-American bloc find themselves more and more in a minority in the world. Hence the rising frenzy of their drive to war. They dare not wait. The path of the fight for peace is the path of the strong. It is the diseased, bankrupt, decaying social order that seeks to find in the gamble of war the last solution. It was the decrepit, crumbling Tsarist régime that placed its last stake on war to counter internal revolution, and ended in its own downfall. It is imperialism—'moribund capitalism', as Lenin called it—that has made the first half of the twentieth century the epoch of world wars. So now the Anglo-American bloc, the last grand coalition of imperialism, finding its region of domination ever more restricted, faced with the rising strength of the new world, and with the surge of popular revolt beating against its oppression on every front, plunges with suicidal fury along the path to war. Its champions proclaim, even sometimes believe, that the war they plan is 'defensive', because they are defending a dying social order. For them every advance of the people anywhere in the world is 'aggression' to be met with police terror or expeditionary forces. Therein lies the real aggression

of imperialism—as demonstrated already in China, South East Asia and Korea, and threatened in the Middle East, Africa, Italy, France, Germany, wherever the people may advance. And in their final desperation they turn to aims of open aggressive world war—the dream of the ‘preventive war’.

Dictionary of Aggression

The dream of the ‘preventive war’ is still camouflaged in smooth phrases of ‘Peace Through Strength’, ‘diplomacy with force behind it’, etc. The picture that is presented by the Churchills and the Bevins, the Trumans and the Marshalls, is that the Anglo-American bloc must build up decisive superior armed strength, and then impose its policy on the rest of the world, and that this is the ‘realist’ policy for peace. It is, of course, nothing of the kind. It is the age-old policy for war, and for aggressive war. It is the conception of Diplomacy by Ultimatum. When Churchill first outlined the programme in his notorious Fulton speech in the beginning of 1946, he did not speak openly of the aim of aggressive war on the Soviet Union. Not at all. He merely proposed an Anglo-American military alliance, declared that the existence of the People’s Democracies in Eastern Europe was incompatible with ‘permanent peace’, and advocated a ‘settlement’ with the Soviet Union on the basis of the ‘strength’ of the Anglo-American military alliance. All most innocent. But neither supporter nor opponent had any doubt what he meant, without his needing to set it out in black and white. Indeed, Mr. Bevin himself on March 28 of this year declared in Parliament: ‘As I understood the Fulton speech, it was a preventive war Mr. Churchill had in mind’. And Mr. Churchill declared at Edinburgh on February 14, 1950: ‘Mr. Bevin has followed with steadfastness the line I marked out at Fulton’. Thus the circle is complete. The Fulton policy is the policy of a ‘preventive war’ (Bevin). The Bevin policy is the Fulton policy (Churchill). The same Fulton code language of camouflage of the preventive war is still used in every official utterance today. But the policy is the policy of the ‘preventive war’—that is, of aggressive war.

Wolves and Sheep

The main need for the success of the fight for peace today is to awaken the people of Britain and America to this real character of the war which is being prepared. The main danger of a new world war arises from the fact that the mass of the people of

Britain and America are still deceived into accepting the headlong course of rearmament and anti-Soviet hostility by the hypocritical code language used by their rulers to conceal their real aims under the camouflage of 'peace through strength'—which is the classic diplomatic camouflage for preparation of aggression, just as Hitler used it. Peace requires co-operation of the Powers, negotiation, compromise, co-existence of different systems, as every Soviet statement insists; not the attempt to impose the will of one side on the other by superior strength, as every Anglo-American official statement insists*. The latter is the path of war. The mass of ordinary people in Britain and America, because they themselves genuinely want peace and fear the prospect of war, find it difficult to imagine that their rulers can be deliberately preparing war—needless, criminal, aggressive war. They have no conception of the completely elaborated theory of aggressive atomic war which is openly and brutally set out in the American military press. Therefore the danger is acute until the awakening can be spread among the people of Britain and America, and especially in the labour movement of this country, which holds the key position, to realise the menace of what is being prepared and to fight the war policy.

From Margate to Blackpool

Deception reigned alike at the Margate Labour Conference and the Blackpool Conservative Conference to conceal the real meaning and consequences of the war policy. At both Conferences the war policy was endorsed. At both Conferences the clamour of the rank and file was raised against high prices and intolerable housing and economic conditions—the social consequences of the war policy. At both Conferences the platform made monstrous hypocritical promises to reduce prices and the cost of living, while maintaining the war policy—promises which they knew to be as false as dicers' oaths in face of the realities and consequences of the rearmament programme to which the Marshall vassal bloc is committed. To this extent both Conferences revealed the deepening gulf between the feelings and wishes of the mass of the people and the real policy

*A striking example of the crude self-centred egoism of this policy was afforded by Mr. Bevin in his answer in parliament on October 17:

The Western Powers have got to be strong. . . They have got to be perfectly clear as to the kind of world they want and stand for it until they get it.

It is only necessary to transpose these identical terms to the other side to see that this is a policy to guarantee war.

of the upper stratum of leadership—the same gulf which was revealed when the Gallup poll in October recorded no less than 31 per cent. of the population condemning the dispatch of British troops to Korea, which the ‘democratic’ ‘representative’ parliament and all three official parties unanimously endorsed. Whatever the manipulations and theatrical make-believe of the Big Business machine which controls the Tory Party, Blackpool revealed that there is today, in consequence of modern electoral conditions requiring mass organisation, a genuine mass element in its membership, especially among the youth, which sincerely desires national and social interests, and which can and must be won by a united and progressive labour movement.

Opposition at Margate

The sure ground for hope for the future was revealed, in however elementary a form, at the Margate Labour Conference by the rising body of rank and file opposition which not only demanded social and economic improvement, but had reached sufficient political consciousness and clarity to challenge the war policy. Despite all the pressure of the platform, and despite all the loaded restrictions against democratic representation of the working-class organisations, a vote of nearly one million was recorded against the war policy; and that vote embodied the alliance of the most progressive forces of the trade unions with nearly half the divisional labour parties. With fitting irony the Labour Government chose to celebrate the Fiftieth Year Jubilee Conference of the Labour Party by prosecuting and sentencing to prison the leaders of the gasworkers on strike for an elementary wage demand—a step no Tory Government of modern times had dared to take. The voice of the striking gasworkers sentenced to jail was not heard at the Labour Party Conference. But it is that voice, the voice of the workers in struggle against capitalism, which will prevail in the end against all the tinsel orations of the Attlees and Morrisons and Bevans defending Tory imperialist policy, and which represents the true future of the labour movement.

Blackpool on Margate

Not least revealing was the attitude of the Blackpool Tory Conference platform speeches to the differing trends and tendencies of the labour movement. For the Right-wing Labour leadership the attitude was one of patronising contempt, as for clumsy and awkward disciples:

Never in our history has an Opposition been able so effectively to impose its foreign policy upon the Government of the day. We have led and they have followed. During this period, under the same powerful influence, there has proceeded at a slow but steady pace what one might call the painful process of educating Uncle Ernie.

(Harold Macmillan at the Blackpool Conference, October 12.)

'We have led and they have followed'. This is scarcely the language of desperate political antagonists. To the playboys of the Aneurin Bevan type, the Prince Ruperts concealing defence of Tory imperialist policy behind dashing 'left' phrases, the attitude was one of cynical amusement:

Mr. Eden mockd Mr. Bevan for celebrating the dissolution of world capitalism. 'How can one declare that world capitalism is dead, receive aid from the corpse, and then ask for more'?

(*Manchester Guardian* report, October 13.)

The Path of Unity

But for the Communist Party and the real left the attitude of patronage and persiflage disappeared. Here was only hatred unqualified and unconcealed for the real enemy. One hundred and fifty resolutions were down on the agenda to denounce the Communist Party and call for measures against it (let the *Daily Herald* brood on that when next it tries to regale its shrinking body of readers with tales of the 'Tory-Communist alliance'). The proposal to ban the Communist Party was only shelved on the grounds of openly expressed calculations that the difficulties might become still greater after a ban. Mr. Churchill, always a jump ahead of his colleagues, who were still thumping the old Red menace in general terms, showed himself aware of the significance of the policy of the Communist Party to fight for working-class unity:

At this coming election the Communists have decided to support the Labour Party. All their votes will be given, not out of love, I admit, to Mr. Attlee's administration, but on the broad grounds that 'we all go the same way home'. . . The danger is Socialism clearing the way for a Communist advance, while pretending that the causes of all their mistakes and difficulties are Communist intrigues.

Mr. Churchill has placed his finger upon 'the danger'. The unity of Communism, of Marxism and the Labour Movement—therein is the real danger from the standpoint of Toryism. And therein is the hope of the future for the working class and the people of this country.

Greetings to Sheffield

This Thirty-third Anniversary this month coincides with the holding of the Second World Peace Congress at Sheffield. A great honour has been done to the people of this country, and an earnest of the passionate desire of the mighty army of partisans for peace throughout the world to assist and speed forward the movement for peace in Britain, by the decision to hold the Second World Congress in this country. The greetings and affection of all sincere lovers of peace in Britain will go out to all the distinguished delegates who are travelling from every country in the world to meet in Sheffield. Here in this island, the strategic nerve-centre of American military occupation in Europe, the designated atom bomber base for the criminal aggressive war which the conspirators in charge of American policy and their British satellites are planning, is the very heart of the fight for peace. Here above all, in the political situation in Britain, the outcome will be decided. The inspiration and example of the World Peace Congress, its counsels and leadership, and its demonstration of strength of the world movement, will give powerful help to the movement for peace in Britain, so that we shall be stronger to fulfil those momentous responsibilities which the whole world situation, no less than our own situation, so imperatively places upon us.

R.P.D.

October 18, 1950.

THE TRUTH ABOUT U.S.S.R.

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

THIRTY-THREE years! A generation! A generation of effort, of effort in peace and superhuman effort in war. What has it produced?

I look at the British press, having a strong stomach; having really a strong stomach, I look at the American press too. I learn that the first and greatest working-class state is a land of 'dark forces', a slave state, a police state, terrorised and tyrannised by eleven men in the Kremlin, who are plotting to march their down-trodden slaves in millions across Europe to Calais, in order to 'impose' the horrors of Communism on a 'free world'.

So I have a look for myself, not at the press but at the factual evidence—at the U.S.S.R.! I go there, for the fourth time, this summer. And what do I find?

They are down-trodden slaves in a police state, we are asked to believe. Now, the first necessity for those who tyrannise over down-trodden people is to make sure to tread them down and keep them down. It is not safe to give them more education than the minimum needed to make them profitably exploitable, for it puts ideas of revolt in their heads. You must have a strong and 'reliable' judicature, appointed from the centre, and either removable by that centre or irremovable but carefully hand-picked for class-loyalty so that they present no risk of lapse into progressive sentiment. You must give no scope to the seething masses to rise to power or influence. You must not give them opportunity to criticise—it's too infectious. And you must not risk asking them to express enthusiasm for the 'leaders' who tread them down.

How do the 'dark forces' in Moscow set about this mighty task of holding down 200,000,000 'slaves'? How do they limit education? They pour it out in a flood! They have the highest school-leaving age in the world; for this school year, 45,000,000 text books were printed and supplied for the 6,500,000 school-children of the Ukraine (one-fifth of the U.S.S.R.) alone. They have the biggest thirst for learning—and the highest thirst-quenching—in history. And they teach them in detail the history of every revolution there ever was. *What* a way for intelligent tyrants to keep their 'dark world' safe for tyranny!

A judicature? Yes, a judicature in which the courts which hear 99.9% of the cases are staffed by one professional judge and two

lay assessors, the judge being elected by direct secret universal ballot of the down-trodden slaves of the district in which he is to cement their tyranny, 'slaves' who even have the right, by popular vote, to recall and dismiss him before his term is up. And, as a further safeguard, the two lay assessors, workers elected by the same kind of vote, sit on the bench with him and can over-rule him if they think fit. And, as if that were not enough, the Constitution and the Codes provide the accused—i.e., any down-trodden slave who may revolt—with greater 'rights of defence' than any other system of law in the world.

And, in that slave-state, the victims, provided with all the means of escape, are in fact committing crimes in rapidly diminishing volume; in many districts the amount of crime has shrunk to one-sixth of its level a few years ago.

As for the danger of letting the brightest of your victims rise to influential positions, the truth is that, everywhere one goes, one finds young men and women who have come up from the ranks by hard work and study, to posts of great importance. There they are subject to incessant criticism not just from above but from the workers, the Communist Party, and the Trade Unions; and if they do not do their job properly they go. I have seen a vast steel works, a Moscow sky-scraper—where the wall-newspaper provided for the free expression of criticism by the 'victims' was full enough of complaints—mostly against the *accountancy* department!—a cotton mill, a collective farm, and plenty of other institutions, run by young men and women who had come up by their own merit, and with no advantages beyond the infinite opportunities this slave state provides for merit; two of them were 'M.P.s', i.e., members of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., elected by free universal secret ballot and thus put into a position to speak their minds and the minds of their constituents. (I wonder what the British workers think of Cripps' explanation that *they*, in our country, with its long traditions of education and working-class struggle, cannot provide enough intelligent people for such posts!)

Enthusiasm for their tyrants? Well, Comrade Stalin had his seventieth birthday in December, 1949, and people sent him presents. Those that have so far been unpacked—there are still many to deal with—fill two large museums. You never saw such wealth of art and workmanship, such evidence of affection and devotion. Old treasures, new masterpieces, peasant work, industrial products, letters from schoolchildren and old men, from the Arctic

and the near-tropics. Some of the loveliest things I have ever seen. Some of the simplest as well as the most elaborate expressions of comradely devotion. (One present was an exhibition of 3,765 *new* varieties of seeds, developed by the ignorant slaves since the Revolution.) What a way to snub tyranny when you get a chance!

No, they are not down-trodden (not even when they try to cross the broad streets of Moscow in the teeth of floods of cars which the tyrants are selling to any of their victims who can save up £200—and hundreds can). Who is there to tread them down? Not the Government which behaves as we have seen—the Government which they freely elect and need not re-elect. Not the landlords or factory owners or bankers! *L'état c'est eux!* And they are not minded to tread themselves down!

Tyrants plotting aggressive war? Threatening to march across Europe to Calais? They tell us that too!

To do that, you must begin by preparing your population psychologically for the effort and sacrifice of war. War gratuitously, aggressively, undertaken on other people's territory, fighting against other working classes, is very different from war thrust upon you in your own defence—and it calls for much greater material preparation. It is not an easy job to prepare people's minds for that. It has taken the United States, with all its colossal press and radio barrage, four years or more to get even its people more or less into that state of mind. How long would it take to get the friendly, rather slow and cautious minded Soviet peoples, who insist on being convinced through their intellects rather than through their emotions, into such a state of mind? For they know war. How do you get aggressive war into the minds of such people as those I saw in Kiev, who built a fine kindergarten in 1937, saw the Germans blow it up in 1943, could not get round to rebuilding it until 1947, and now run it with tender human care? How persuade them to run the risk of having it atom-bombed by trigger-happy American airmen tomorrow, with the hope then of rebuilding in 1960? They have 170 new kindergartens in Kiev alone, and they asked me how many we have in Britain. I explained the difficulties; we are spending so much on munitions. They replied, without too much bitterness: 'Yes, to make war on us'. And a few minutes later as we parted, the children cried out: 'Give our friendly greetings to all the children of Britain', and the Director sent her good wishes to them too.

How do you get a group of collective farmers into the mood for more war, when their farm was reduced by the Nazis in 1943 to

two cottages and a mass of débris, when the four hundred men who should have rebuilt it were away in the army fighting the Nazis and there was no-one there but four old men and the women, when the women and those who did come back—half of them were killed at the front fighting for them and for you and for me—got the farm and the cottages rebuilt somehow, and are now planning to build a magnificent new ‘agrogorod’, one of the new country towns, concentrating the inhabitants of several villages, to give them ‘all the good points of town life’, and to narrow still further the differences between workers and peasants? Persuade them to support a scheme to have it blown to pieces again, will you, Messrs. Churchill and Dulles and MacArthur and your Nazi friends that you are picking out of the prisons where you ought rather to be joining them yourselves?

Have it blown to pieces again, for what? Why, to ‘communist Europe’, they tell us. The best way to communist Europe is to leave it alone! Anyway, Soviet Communists hold the view—and it is their own view on which they act—that you cannot impose Communism from the outside, which is one more good reason for not abandoning vast fields of constructive work, facing millions of casualties and endless destruction, and incidentally antagonising scores of millions of hesitant or friendly people in every country in your path, to ‘march to Calais’ for a purpose which cannot be achieved in any such fashion.

If the colossal and lunatic and criminal task of persuading such people to support an aggressive war were to be attempted (by the Government of a country with a finer record for seeking peace and disarmament than any other in the world) how would the tyrants set about working up the slaves? By war propaganda, I suppose, by somehow presenting the launching of a war as something attractive, profitable, or any way, necessary. Well, there is no trace of any such propaganda to be found in the U.S.S.R. On the contrary there is more propaganda than ever before for peace, and against any idea that war is wanted, or is necessary, or is inevitable.

Every building, every hoarding, the notice-boards of every institution, the pages of every newspaper and periodical, call: ‘Peace. Peace. Insist on peace. Struggle for peace. Work for peace’. The Stockholm Petition, with its 115,275,940 Soviet signatures—virtually the entire adult population collected in a few weeks—is only a part of the great struggle. How in the name of all that is bloodthirsty can you inspire a lust for aggressive war in people to whom you

have given that sort of anti-war talk, that hope of happy peace, after the war experiences that they have had? The truth, on the contrary, is that it is still difficult to make these peace-loving people realise how serious the threat of war from outside really is; and even those who fully realise it continue to cherish friendly feelings for the workers everywhere. Wherever I met and talked with them they sent greetings to the British workers, and exhortations to them to intensify the struggle for peace, and to make their government join in that struggle. 'Tell all the peasants and workers in Britain that the collective farmers here stand for peace, and strive for it. Urge them to do the same. We must be all one family', came spontaneously from one chairman as we bade good-bye; and from another who had lost all her six children in the war: 'Do British mothers realise fully what war means? If they do, they will fight hard for peace'. 'Will you ask schoolchildren in England to exchange letters with us?' came from war-orphans in Kiev, most of them with tattoo-marks and numbers on their arms, put on by the Nazis who had butchered their parents in front of them, just for being Jews—these Nazis whom Dean Acheson proposes to re-arm.

It is a little hard for some of us—or do I mean it is tragically easy?—to understand why certain governments in the West actually stop people from supporting peace propaganda, so discouraging to the war spirit which they profess to abhor.

Incidentally, if the 'men in the Kremlin' *were* thinking of war, and if they read—as no doubt they do—the detailed plans paraded in the American Press for dropping atom bombs on Moscow on the day the war starts, from the handy bases supplied by the 'Labour' government of the Soviet Union's British 'ally', whose Prime Minister has the insolence, as pointed out in the September issue of this journal, to chirp warnings against 'the enemy within', they would not be working night and day, summer and winter, to build eight skyscrapers in Moscow, which make fine targets. (Incidentally, the behaviour of this American Press does at any rate enable us to claim that the British Press is not the basest in the world, if the *Daily Herald* does not mind my saying so).

But they have more stories to tell us: *the whole Soviet economy is devoted to war preparations; vast forces are engaged; it is 'guns before butter'*.

This, if you please, from ration-ridden Britain, which has little butter, sugar, meat, bacon, which is reducing the building of sorely-needed houses and stopping that of schools and hospitals, and

threatening more and more of such cuts, just because the whole economy is in fact geared to war preparations.

What is, in truth, the position in the Soviet Union? However magnificent the human energy available there, it would always have been possible to carry the drive for a fuller life forward faster if more hands had been available; and to arm against threats from the West has always been a nuisance, although inevitable; every extra tank means thirty or forty tons of steel less for housing, and every extra soldier means slowing up the production, somewhere, of something useful. 'We need peace like we need air, for we have millions engaged in creative work', said one of them to me.

There is no sign whatever of stinting on consumption goods, nothing, for example, like the breakaway from the first Five-Year Plan that had to be made when the menace of Hitler was seen so clearly and so early, nor like the restrictions on consumption goods that followed. There is no skimping of cultural or scientific expenditure, no hesitation to embark on vast schemes of capital production of long-term advantage—schemes which could not even indirectly be of use in war or war-preparation for years to come, and would have to be shelved indefinitely if war started. Life is growing gayer, and not going greyer, as it tends to do under Marshall law. There is more food, at prices that people can pay—and prices, *not* wages, are substantially reduced at intervals. The quality of the food is superb; after all, this Socialist economy is producing food for itself to eat, not for Lord Tomnoddy to make a profit. At a sausage factory, for example, I learnt that sausages can be—and are—made out of good fresh meat! Food is in increasing variety as well as quantity and quality. Margarine is available, for butter is not yet very cheap; but few people buy it. They prefer butter, and can afford a good deal of it—many times our ration. (Butter before guns, and butter before 'marge'). Textile goods and ready-made clothing are much more plentiful than they were, and much less dear. (Suits before uniforms).

In kindergartens, crèches, schools, orphanages, in that formerly textile-hungry land, you see good, well-embroidered linen table cloths and bedspreads. Even in one of Bevin's 'slave-camps' I saw embroidered linen window-valances. A village shop told me that they had sold fourteen hair-mattresses in a fortnight.

The new Metro stations in Moscow are like palaces. Cars abound—good cars, cheap cars. Advertisements urge you to buy them; you walk in, put your money down, and drive them away; and the

private purchaser gets them much more cheaply than factories or government organisations.

Building goes on everywhere, in town and country, at a great speed. Good architecture, good workmanship, greatly-improved equipment. Modern building technique is fully developed, building materials have been brought up to high standards of quality, lightness of weight and variety. A bad 'bottle-neck' in building-material supply was eliminated some time ago by vigorous efforts, four Ministries being set up especially to tackle it. (In some countries, four Ministries would do four times as much harm as one).

Collective-farms get all the machinery they need, and all the petrol they need, too—dear, dear, why didn't one manage to bomb Baku in 1940? And they plan in many places to build 'agrorods' of the kind mentioned above. Labour and materials are available for this too; they are not drawn off into armaments.

In a Moscow cotton-mill—the old Trekhgornaya—all the children of workers under seven years old go to the sunny holiday resorts on the Black Sea for three months in the summer, their parents paying little more than a nominal charge; and the same mill is spending Rs.1,800,000 (say, £45,000) out of its funds to build a camp near Moscow for the children over seven—they are not really the responsibility of the mill at all, but 'we think of them as our children'—and part of that money is going on sculpture to beautify the camp. (Sculpture before guns).

Cultural work is equally little cramped. No effort is spared, for example, to ensure that the ballet, the opera, and the drama are the finest possible; they are in fact the finest in the world.

I picked up a copy of *Pravda* one day, and looked at the theatre announcements. For once, strangely, there was a day without ballet; but there were for that one day, operas by Borodin and Verdi, plays by Shakespeare, G. B. Shaw, Oscar Wilde, Ostrovsky, Turgenev, Lope de Vega, a Czech playwright and an Estonian, and two Soviet writers besides a farce and two musical comedies (and every one of these would be thoroughly well-rehearsed and each part, down to the smallest, well played). Just in case this should be an unusually good day, I looked at *Pravda* of the next day, and found Glier's wonderful ballet, *The Red Poppy*, a Mozart Opera, Strauss's *Fledermaus*, a Spanish play, plays by Tolstoy, Gorki, Gogol, Ostrovsky, Vishinevsky, Fedin and Korneichuk, two other plays by Soviet writers, and a Georgian musical comedy. One of these copies of *Pravda* gave up a fifth of its space to a very careful and critical

review, written by three Academicians, of the first volume of the new Soviet Encyclopædia. And I am reminded by Mr. Andrew Rothstein's Pelican 'History of the U.S.S.R.' that the works of Pushkin appeared in seventy of the languages of the Soviet Union between 1917 and 1940, whereas from 1894 to 1917 they appeared in only eleven of those languages, and those all major European languages. The works of Chekhov appeared in fifty-six languages—and 15,000,000 copies, between 1917 and 1940, compared to five languages and 600,000 copies between 1894 and 1917. Shakespeare has appeared in seventeen languages, and Dickens in fourteen, since 1917; before, they were each in only three or four.

Lectures, endless courses of instruction and lively discussions at public meetings abound, with free and open—and often embarrassing—'questions to the speaker'. Most of the experienced lawyers, for example, give courses on law and practice to younger lawyers, and to factory clubs; it is even recorded that lectures on theft and its consequences reduced the rate of 'loss of materials' substantially in some cases.

Universities are extending or wholly rebuilding; scientific institutes have 'all the money we require, for we are scientists in a Socialist state'. The Institute of Law, for example, continues its lavish researches into the law and jurisprudence and legal history of all countries, including our own, as a normal part of general cultural development. They ask me; 'Do you study the laws of the U.S.S.R. in your country?' I cannot give a very happy answer to that question, but by good fortune I am able to answer another question on a narrow point as to the recent developments of English 'case-law' on contributory negligence. We recall that one of Vyshinsky's books deals fully with the English law of evidence, a branch of law which not many English lawyers can expound very well; and another lawyer produces for my inspection six Russian translations of standard text-books written by English lawyers of definitely 'unrevolutionary' outlook.

The same picture is to be seen in every branch of cultural life. Yes, culture before guns. The guns, you may be sure, are there. It is well that they are. I am sure that guns in fact get first priority, up to the exact point which it is held to be necessary for safety in defence, and no further. The really encouraging fact is that an economy not yet abundant in material things can make up its mind that it can safely keep its supply of guns and war material of all kinds at a level where, with no help to its economy from 'outside',

it can present the appearance of 'Butter and culture and everything else that is constructive and enjoyable before guns'—something which, of course, would be absolutely impossible if it were arming not for defence but on the vastly greater scale—say seventy and more per cent. of the budget, like the U.S.A.—called for by aggressive intentions.

If one measures the evidence in terms of effort involved and of the years that must elapse before they 'pay a dividend', perhaps the most remarkable of all proofs of the Soviet attention to peaceful development, of its confident expectation that the forces of peace in the world will prevail, and of its own firm intention to maintain peace, is to be found in the new schemes of hydro-electric and irrigation development. Over a period of a few weeks in the summer of 1950, no less than four vast schemes were announced. The first—the largest so far in the world, in terms of kilowatts—is based on damming the Volga at Kuibishev; it is to improve the Volga navigation and irrigate vast areas of land, as well as produce electricity for towns and villages and industries. The second is similar in its general objects, and is based on damming the same mighty river at Stalingrad. The third will take the great Amu-Darya river, which at present flows into the Aral Sea, round into the Caspian. On its way, it will bring back into cultivation after centuries of waste the vast desert of Kara-Kum, ranking potentially among the richest agricultural lands in the world.

The fourth scheme carries water from the Dnieper from just above the famous Dnieper dam at Zaporozhe south-eastwards to the Crimea, crosses the Sivash, and ends at Kersh, on the eastern tip of the peninsula. It will irrigate vast areas of good but thirsty land in the southern Ukraine and the northern Crimea.

Truly, all these schemes won't help a 'march to Calais' any time in the next ten years. But they will make millions richer—and no one will be exploited, no one will draw a dividend on shares, no contractor will make a profit! It is that that is really unforgivable, to rob the world of poverty, to withdraw from the hungry out-reaching arms of a sick and sated capitalist economy, that cannot live without new areas to exploit, first one sixth, and then another slice, and another, until half the world is progressing in 'slave' states, free of exploitation of man for other men's profit. This is what in truth produces all the hatred, the lying, the distorted propaganda, the accusations of war-mongering (levelled insolently against the only economy that can only flourish if it has peace,

by the large economy that can only avoid slump by war), and all the unease which we now have to combat. 'Splitting the Atom, indeed', said an Ukrainian poet to me, 'we split a pretty big atom in 1917'.

Oh! but there is no freedom there! is the next cry. I sometimes wonder *why* we should be told that. Is it that we are to hate them because they are not free? Or that we are to go to war because they are not free? Or what?

But it is as much worth answering as the rest of the pernicious nonsense that is poured out against them by the propagandists of the West, in whose countries freedom to speak—or even to think—without losing your job, freedom to travel in or out, freedom to earn your living, even in a boom, are diminishing daily, with no protest from the 'specialists in freedom' who rail against the Soviet Union.

You are free in the U.S.S.R. to speak your mind, to argue, to criticise. You are not free to advocate counter-revolution or the restoration of private property in factories or land; but I couldn't find anyone who felt that to be a deprivation! You are not free to commit treason, or espionage. You are not free to commit crimes—and ever fewer people commit them.

You are free to develop, to educate yourself, to choose your job and your leisure; you are free from exploitation; you are free from the nagging fear of unemployment, of poverty through illness or old-age. You are free from pretty nearly every ill that human effort can remove.

It is said that you are not free to disagree with Lysenko! Well, the controversy which Lysenko won was argued freely, openly, democratically, for years. It was finally won in 1948, by one side proving their case by evidence; and because they won, and had their way, the great afforestation plan to cure drought will take less than two-thirds of the time it would otherwise have taken, and save nine-tenths of the cost. And, because Lysenko was right, they are growing good hemp. The American press said he was wrong; he said he was right; so a collective farm grew hemp, under his instruction, 13 or 14 feet high. (They led me to it, and I measured it).

But, it is then said, *There is an iron curtain on information. They know nothing of what happens outside, in the 'free' world.*

(Again, I ask, why is this said? Ought we to have a war because they are ignorant? Just to 'larn 'em'?)

The truth is that the ordinary daily paper in the U.S.S.R. devotes

between one-quarter and one-third of its space to news from abroad. On the conflict in Korea, for example, it printed regularly, whilst I was there, the communiqués of the North Korean Government, and of the American Government, and of Reuter, all in full. Everyone who talked to me there of foreign affairs—including a wide variety of people—knew as much as, and often a great deal more, than I did about them; and asked me embarrassing questions as to how much British people know about the Soviet Union, and what we learn of it in our schools. (In their schools, they learn English history, and many of them learn English. They must learn one foreign language, and they learn them well).

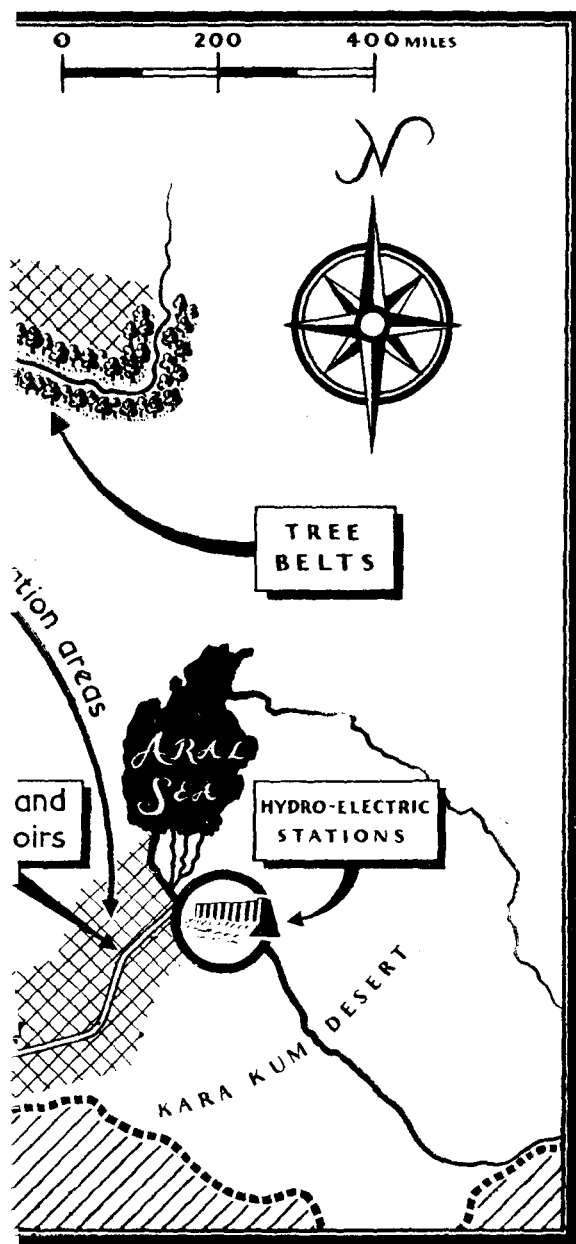
I saw in films and theatres many caricatures of Hollywood and other Americans and British; I had to admit that they were just. (I even had to make this admission about a character in a musical comedy, who had failed at everything he had ever tried, and said plaintively, ‘Nobody appreciates me here; but in the United States a man like me could become President’).

Finally, I have it on the authority of Mr. Churchill, whose own claim to cultural education cannot rank very high, that ‘*The Russians are barbarians*’. He must mean this, for he put it in a cabinet minute at the time of the battle of Stalingrad, when he was publicly praising our allies for the most heroic, most costly in human lives, and most efficient military operation in the history of the world! Once again, I don’t quite know what we are expected to do because they are ‘barbarians’. Are we to make war on them in order to make them less barbarous, or to show our own cultural superiority? (Mr. Churchill certainly meant us to get ready to do so, even then, in 1942; for he talked of preventing them ‘overlaying the culture and independence of the ancient states of Europe’). But I would like to examine this ‘barbarism’. In what does it consist? In their education? In their ballet, their opera, their theatre, their films? In their decent, simple manners? In their readiness to help each other? In their friendship for all who will meet them even half-way? In their tender care for children? In the way they have lavished, to give a few examples, months and even years of labour, slowly restoring the eighteenth century beauty of the statues and fountains and buildings of Peterhof, and of the churches and palaces of Pushkin (Tsarskoe Selo), all wantonly smashed up by the Nazis? In their rebuilding of the Kiev University, in a time of shortage, much more expensively than they need have done, in order to retain the fine architectural style of the original building? In such

NEW POWER, N



FERTILE FIELDS



The map shows a vast area (over twenty times the size of Britain) where the four great afforestation shelter belts, begun in 1948, are now to be supplemented by four giant hydro-electric and irrigation schemes.

striking facts as the response to a competition for amateur song and dance shows in the Ukraine; there were 700,000 entrants, and a fortnight's hard work to adjudicate? In 1,700 concerts given in a month in Ukrainian villages by parties from the Kiev Opera? The plain blunt truth is that they are by now the most cultivated, i.e., the least barbarous, people in the world.

There *is* an iron curtain no doubt, and the leaders on one side of that iron curtain ought to be in a mad house—indeed, in a sense, they are in one. And, certainly, in the world's history there was never such a concentrated pack of lies as they tell. Even Goebbels and Hitler, whose phrases they often echo almost textually, didn't have quite such a wide field, or splash about in it quite so much.

Nothing can stop the ever forward march of this new civilisation, except war. That is one reason why some people are mongering war, and we must stop them. We must, we can, and we will. And so long as we help to do so, we shall be rewarded with wholly new developments, new standards, new culture, new security, new, real, peace. We shall have cause for pride to be in the same world with them—and it will grow into one world. November, 1950, thirty-three years after the 25th October, 1917, is a good moment to reflect on this.

THE SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

J. G. CROWTHER

(President, British Peace Committee)

THE Second World Peace Congress which will be held in Sheffield on November 13—19, is an event of critical importance. It may be the determining factor in the prevention of a third world war: an atomic war which would bring a new scale of horror into human history, and set civilisation back for centuries and perhaps for ever. Under the threat of such a calamity, there is only one concern—PEACE. Today, all other matters are secondary, for unless our cities, our homes and factories, the fabric of society, continue to exist, and we ourselves, our parents, wives and children stay alive, other things have no meaning.

Peace has always been the condition of progress, the period when constructive work could be pursued without distraction, when families could be reared in happiness, and human affection enabled to grow into its deepest and richest forms. This has been symbolised by the high place given to Peace in the great religions, and especially in Christianity. We shall be concerned with the greatest matters at Sheffield, and we work for the Congress in that spirit. A tremendous responsibility has come to the British people, to all defenders of peace, and to the British Peace Committee in particular. We have to make the Second World Peace Congress worthy of its historic possibilities.

Our first task is to ensure that the defenders of peace in other lands are courteously admitted to our country, in order to take part in the Congress. The Prime Minister has informed us 'that in this free country there is no power to prohibit the proposed Congress', and the Home Office has stated 'that it is not the present intention of H.M. Government to limit the number of delegates'. However, the Government has stated that it will not grant visas or entry to delegates who are *persona non grata*, and it has refused permission to the Preparatory Committee to come to Britain to participate in the preliminary organisation of the Congress. This decision of the Government is contrary to Mr. Attlee's statement that this is a 'free country', besides being discourteous and unusual. There are many precedents of foreign organising members of international

congresses held in this country arriving here to take part in the preliminary preparations weeks before the congresses started.

The rude exclusion of the Preparatory Committee merely increases the burden of organisation lying on it and on the British Peace Movement, and has redoubled the determination of all lovers of peace everywhere to make the Sheffield Congress more brilliant than ever. The attitude of H.M. Government shows that it is aware of the tremendous feeling and tradition for peace in the British people and the Labour Movement, and in the peoples of the world, and that it dare not directly affront this feeling and tradition. It is for British lovers of peace in particular to impress on the Government, politely but firmly, that defenders of peace are the expression of all that is best in the Labour Movement, in the British people, and in men and women of good will everywhere, and that they are not to be excluded from our country.

The aim of the Congress is simply to stop war and save mankind. The World Peace Movement has not arrived at this simple aim instantaneously. It is the culmination of an enormous world-effort evolving through many stages. At the Paris Congress the causes of war were made clear. At Rome the appeal to parliaments and elected bodies was proposed. At Stockholm, a great practical step was taken towards peace, by launching the appeal for the abolition of atomic weapons and the moral condemnation of their first-users. The Stockholm Appeal provided a succinct practical programme on which more than 350,000,000 men and women have signified their agreement.

The formulation of the Stockholm Appeal, which contains only eighty words, was one of the great creative acts of human genius. Never before have so few words released such a mighty expression of agreed opinion. But the eighty words of the Stockholm Appeal, though they contain the key to human survival, do not comprise all the ambitions of the human spirit. They have enabled more than 350,000,000 men and women to act together for two clear and supremely important ends. Through signature of the Stockholm Appeal, this large fraction of the human race is conscious of itself as a movement, as a unity, an organism. Its awareness of its own achievement and its magnitude gives it confidence to advance towards yet greater achievement, and grow still stronger. The response to the Stockholm Appeal has created the practical possibility for mankind to advance from the banning of atomic weapons to yet wider aims, culminating in the abolition of war itself. For there is no doubt that if the Stockholm Appeal had not been launched, and

had not received world approval, the atomic bomb would have been used again before now.

All lovers of peace wish for the abolition of armaments and war. But before the Stockholm Appeal, such aspirations were Utopian. They are Utopian no longer, and that is why, in the Prague Appeal calling for the Second World Peace Congress, there are many aims in addition to the banning of atomic weapons, which have been the objects of the fondest hopes of peace lovers for centuries, but which have been impractical ideals until the World Peace Movement created the conditions in which they could be realised. The discussions at the Second World Peace Congress will be based on the Prague Appeal. This calls for the general reduction of armaments, in addition to the abolition of atomic weapons; for resistance to aggression, and foreign intervention by force of arms in internal affairs of any people; for the settlement of the war in Korea by a properly constituted Security Council; for the banning of propaganda in favour of war. All peace-loving people everywhere, whatever their political, religious or philosophical convictions, are asked to discuss these aims, and elect delegates to voice their opinions on them at the Congress.

The Preparatory Committee, meeting in Prague, has given further definition to the Congress agenda. In its communiqué of October 5, it stated that peace cannot be imposed by force, and that it depends on the peaceful co-existence of different social systems, and the peaceful competition of ideas. The ever-increasing clamour for war makes free discussion between men of different ideologies, philosophies and social systems an imperative necessity for the achievement of peace. Hence all men of good will, who share the longing for peace, will be assured of representation at the Congress, whatever their differences on other questions.

The strengthening of respect for the Charter of the United Nations and of economic and cultural exchange, will also be leading topics of discussion. The main business of the Congress will be conducted in Plenary Sessions. In addition, there will be a number of Commissions in which experts and those specially interested in such topics as religion and peace, science and peace, law and peace, etc., will prepare reports for the consideration of the Congress. The commissions will greatly extend the opportunities for debate, and widen the scope of the Congress. Our aim is to bring all people of good will into the bloc for peace. We wish to join to us all those hundreds of millions who sincerely desire peace, and yet have not signed the Stockholm Appeal. We must go out and speak to them, engage in

frank discussion, and persuade them to join our Movement.

The most pressing need in Britain is the forming of peace committees and groups in factories and places of work. We have an immense disciplined industrial population, but if the millions of peace-lovers among them do not form their centres of action, they cannot set the organised workers in motion for peace. An effective peace movement must be rooted in the masses: there is no other basis. Peace depends on the extension and consolidation of our movement, and in no country is the need and opportunity greater than in ours. Only one in 45 of the population of Britain has signed the Peace Petition. The British Peace Movement has not advanced very far. Yet because Britain is a capitalist empire, every advance in Britain, even a small one, has a special significance. And accordingly, the holding of the Second World Peace Congress, not in a socialist country, not among people already marching straight into a progressive future, has exceptional significance. It brings the defenders of peace right into one of the citadels of aggression. That is where the struggle for peace is most difficult, and most significant.

THE MARGATE CONFERENCE

JOHN GOLLAN

THE Labour leadership is making the most of the results of the Margate Labour Party Conference, the overwhelming vote on foreign policy, the unanimous endorsement of the new programme statement 'Labour and the New Society'. But the outstanding characteristic of the conference was not this. It was the evidence in practically every debate of the unbridgeable gulf and essential conflict between the Right-Wing leadership and the Labour rank and file. This is the vital issue, and is of key importance for future developments.

From the very start two major issues dominated the conference: fear of the danger of a new world war and widespread concern about the decline in the living standards of the working class. Already the preliminary Agenda for the Conference showed the extent of rank and file discontent. Forty-three resolutions on wages and profits, fourteen on the rising cost of living, thirteen on the conception of nationalisation, twenty-three on housing policy and twenty-seven on foreign policy, all reflected the growing disillusionment of the local Labour Parties and many trade unions on these crucial issues. And while the Standing Orders Committee ironed out much of this, the composite resolutions which eventually reached Conference spot-lighted the issues.

It was on foreign policy, the issue of peace and war, that the great clash came. 'Uneasiness about the international situation was apparent throughout the debate. . .' wrote *The Times* special correspondent. The last thing in the world wanted by the men and women who compose the Labour movement is a new war. Large sections of these have been impressed by the Peace campaign and the Stockholm Petition to ban the atom bomb. A month earlier at the T.U.C. a resolution containing the essentials of the Stockholm Appeal obtained just under two million votes, one-fourth of the total. The war in Korea, the rearmament decisions, have had increasing effect. It was because of all this that the Labour leadership worked hard to present their war policy as a peace policy. Sam Watson's chairman's address provided the keynote with his bitter attack on the Peace movement, his insistence that rearmament was for defence and his effort to present the Government's aggressive alliance with American imperialism against Socialist Russia, China

and the national liberation struggle of Asia as 'collective security', that collective security which had been denied to Britain against the fascist aggressor before 1939 because of Tory opposition.

This effort was summed up in the carefully phrased Supplementary Report on the International Situation which dealt with the war in Korea. 'Collective Security through the United Nations' was the keynote of Government policy, the conference was assured. By its action in Korea 'the United Nations has immensely strengthened its authority and prestige' and this was in 'shining contrast with the pre-war collapse of collective security' due to Tory appeasement which did not avert war 'but brought mankind to the edge of the abyss'.

As the delegates were debating in Margate, Kenneth Younger at the United Nations was fighting for the British resolution on Korea, rejecting every effort to achieve a compromise peaceful solution, a resolution which showed the ugly reality behind this cynical studied hypocrisy. Drafted by Bevin himself before his hurried return to Margate to speak in the debate, the resolution confirmed MacArthur's invasion and destruction of the whole of Korea, its transformation into a mainland base for war on Russia and China and consequent extension of the grave danger of world war, its reimposition of the fascist Syngman Rhee régime and the rule of the landlords. It was a resolution carried by the mechanical United Nations American majority, with the countries representing the overwhelming majority of mankind, and in particular the main nations of Asia, in opposition or abstaining.

Against the Executive, the clear alternative foreign policy was presented in the opposing resolution sponsored by the Foundry Workers, the E.T.U. and 39 Constituency Labour Parties. This called for a conference of the Five Great Powers to compose differences; renewed efforts for friendly relations with the U.S.S.R.; the outlawing of the atom bomb; real collective security and no commitments outside the Charter; the ending of East-West trade barriers and the promotion of satisfactory social and economic conditions in the backward countries; further action for the representation of People's China in the Security Council and an end to dollar dependence by 1952. Despite all the usual anti-Soviet ravings of Bevin the resolution was pressed to the vote. It was defeated by 4,861,000 to 881,000 through the operation of the trade union block vote. It was supported by the U.S.D.A.W., the Foundry Workers, the E.T.U. and the Vehicle Builders. These Unions with some smaller unions cast 450,000 votes. This means that 430,000 votes were cast for the reso-

lution by the constituency Labour Parties. In other words almost half the Local Labour Parties, despite all the propaganda and pressure from the platform, supported a clear-cut alternative foreign policy of peace in opposition to the Executive's policy of war, a result which can be of outstanding significance for the future development of the struggle.

It was an anomaly of the Conference that although opposition in the Conference on all the major home issues was even more sustained and much more widespread than on foreign policy, there was no clear-cut alternative programme for the home front to crystallise the opposition like the resolution on foreign policy. Yet the complete bankruptcy of the Labour leadership, the fact that its programme has nothing to offer but further decline in living standards, was apparent in every platform speech. In all Labour Conferences since 1945 every ounce of propaganda advantage has been exploited by the Right-Wing leadership of Labour achievement in building the 'Welfare State' to maintain their hold over the movement. But the loudly trumpeted achievements of the Health Service, nationalisation, full employment and the Welfare State are wearing thin. The workers in the Labour movement are reassessing the so-called Welfare State in the light of rising prices and rents, the grim experiences of nationalisation, the record profits of the capitalist class and the fact that the basic class relationships of Labour Britain remain unchanged. They see every gain that has been won was under fire even before rearmament and that rearmament means retreat all along the line. Watson's chairman's address made the usual grandiose claims that poverty had been abolished, but while the platform spoke of the Welfare State and social transformation the floor spoke the language of life in grim capitalist reality. The old issues of wages, housing and poverty dominated their speeches.

Rhetoric apart, the Prime Minister, when called upon to deliver his report on the work of Parliament, could only make a bankrupt, empty speech. Despite references to this 'memorable Parliament' of 'unparalleled achievement' all he could record was devaluation, the Atlantic Pact and the decision to proceed with the Iron and Steel Bill. In his apology for rearmament he was careful to avoid any reference to cost, although the emergency resolution on Korea made clear that 'we shall have to postpone some advances in our social services and in better living. The burdens will be heavy . . .', an ominous reference to the sacrifices yet to be borne.

The debate on nationalisation took place on a composite resolu-

tion supported by the N.U.R. and the A.E.U. It epitomised the discontent and disillusionment with those Labour Party measures. The industries had been left in the hands of those who had mismanaged them in the past, the workers were frozen out, interest should be cut by half, the earnings in the railways were deplorable—this was the burden of the complaint. The façade of nationalisation could not conceal that little had been changed. And the Executive could only defeat this condemnation of its policy by 2,878,000 votes to 1,891,000. Around a million must have abstained. A composite resolution on wages, prices and profits demanded Government action along with the T.U.C. to improve 'the real wages of the workers by taking the most energetic action, (1) to stem the upward trend of prices and bring about a reduction, and (2) to control and reduce profit'. It also demanded action to improve the conditions of the especially low paid.

With the defeat on wage freezing at the hands of the T.U.C. fresh in its mind, the Executive accepted the resolution, although it is clear it has not the slightest intention of doing anything about it. But the temper of the debate reflected the developing wages movement, the growing number of strikes and the daily protests of the housewives. The 'financial vultures were on the wing' declared the representative of the N.U.R. Rising costs were striking at the foundation of the movement, many wage packets were such that people couldn't even buy their rations—this was the essence of the debate and *The Times* noted that 'the mood of the party is such that it will now look for some action'. Even in the debate on Economic Recovery introduced by the Executive with a fulsome crawling tribute for American 'aid', the criticism on living standards burst out.

But it was on the debate on the new policy statement 'Labour and the New Society' that the division between the Executive and the rank and file was most glaring. Stripped of all its trimmings this sinister document is the most outspoken defence of the existing capitalist order, preparation for war, colonial conquest, and imperialist exploitation that has yet come from Transport House. It offers nothing to the British working class and even retreats on the few nationalisation proposals of the last General Election programme. The greater the betrayal of the principles of the Labour pioneers and the working class struggle, however, the more flowery and flowing becomes the language of Morrison and Bevan. In essence the theme becomes—it is not so much society that requires a change but the individual. We need an 'internal spiritual and in-

tellectual change' said Morrison, for while the old pioneers spoke in general principles 'ours' is the job of detailed legislation and application. Individuality and enterprise were needed, for a live democracy 'a mental transformation' was required, we could not any longer have the old antagonism to management, etc. Now there is method in this spate of seeming platitudes. It is a sustained polemic to exorcise the class feeling of the Labour rank and file, to overthrow their deep-rooted if elementary hatred of capitalist society, to replace the old fighting tradition, long feared by the reformist leaders, with the poison of class collaboration and support of capitalism. It obtained no support from the rank and file. Instead the whole debate on this 'great' new programme was a review of endless working class grievances—the need for homes, the price of school meals, tied cottages, slum schools, middlemen's profits, cost of living, political persecution in the forces and a host of others. As the Keep Left Mr. Crossman observed in the *Sunday Pictorial*, if he was Morgan Phillips he would be worried. 'The trouble is that the slogans which Labour coined in the days of opposition were still the currency of this year's Conference. . .'

But the criticism, while clear, did not develop into the presentation of a counter programme to that of the Labour Executive. On the contrary, 'Labour and the New Society', a denial of everything desired and demanded by the delegates in the debate, was endorsed. And here is the weakness of the forces in the Labour Party, consciously or objectively fighting against the Executive policy of betrayal. Because of this weakness, because of the lack of a clear alternative programme on all issues as well as foreign policy, which could rally and crystallise the opposition, the Executive wins the day. Yet never was such a programme more urgent. After endorsing Government action on the Schuman Plan the Conference ended with the demand for real price controls and an uproar on the issue of rising council rents, and with Sam Watson trying to soothe the delegates with talk of the rediscovery of ethical values.

The Margate Labour Party Conference demands the most serious attention of every militant, of everyone fighting for peace and social advance. The fight of those at Margate against Executive policy is of the greatest importance. It is a new development of the position within the Labour Party. No longer is it an issue of much publicised Keep Left groups, most of whose leaders have long since lined up with Bevin and Morrison. It was an alliance of the best forces of the local Labour Parties, the heart and soul of the movement, and the most militant trade unions—all honour to what they tried to do.

It would be folly to overestimate what has been done: the revolt is only beginning but it points the way to a course which must be travelled if the movement is to be saved from disaster. No doubt the opposition to Executive policy would have been greater still if many Labour men and trade unionists had not thought that organised criticism must be kept in check for fear of Labour defeat in a general election. But to support the Right-Wing policy in any way is to court a Tory victory, the danger of war and attack on working class standards.

What the Labour movement needs today as never before is to build on the opposition at Margate a fighting programme which can rally all that is best in the Labour Party and trade unions in decisive challenge to the Right-Wing. This requires the utmost struggle in every trade union branch to cement the alliance of all militant trade unionists and the local Labour Parties for such a programme. It requires working-class unity, unity in action between Labour, Trade Union, Co-operative and Communist workers. It was for this that the Communist Party in July issued its appeal for working class unity. The Communist Party has expressed its willingness to work with all prepared to fight for a militant working class programme. It has made its suggestions for the basis of such a programme which, by and large, echo the same demands as those who fought at Margate. 'United action now', stated this appeal, 'can bring about a political transformation in Britain that will lead to a Parliament and Government which can solve Britain's problems in the interests of its working people'. This is the key. This is the way of advance and the lesson of Margate.

MURDERING PEACE AT UNO

QUÆSTOR

By the total concentration of all available forces of the American and British Empires (and of some saved up from the wreck of the Japanese Empire, as it now transpires): and by the open unashamed adoption of the Nazi tactics of total destruction, by mass obliteration bombing, of all towns and villages, and by machine-gunning of the civil population: the American and European invaders of Korea have succeeded for the time being in throwing back the People's Army and overrunning a large part of the peninsula. Large-scale massacre and rape follow the flags of the glorious imperialist armies.

It is a familiar picture to the student of Asia's history. In 1857 the British bearers of Western civilisation drew it in blood against the Indian 'rebels': in 1860 and again in 1900, they did so against the peasant revolutionary armies of China, the Taipings and the Boxers—in alliance with French troops on the first occasion, with Germans, Russians, Italians, as well on the second. Of course, in those days, there were no aeroplanes and no United Nations—but the generals and admirals despatched by the capitalist governments of Christendom to deal with the presumptuous Orientals, who wanted to be masters in their own immensely rich but immensely plundered countries, got on even better than MacArthur.

He had a harder problem than they—and there's the difference between the colonial wars of the nineteenth century and the unspeakably foul and brazen colonial war in the Far East of 1950. In North Korea for five years the people had built up a system in which factory workers and peasants produced for themselves, not for exploiters: in which there was no unemployment, and education, social services, trade unionism, had made giant strides: in which there was self-government by the working people, and equality for women. South Korea, a prey to police terrorism of the masses on a huge scale, to dictatorial rule by wealthy collaborators, first of the Japanese then of the American, to corruption of officials, mass unemployment and prostitution, had had its first efforts at liberation beaten down by MacArthur's invaders in September, 1945—and now again. The 1,200,000 peasant families who received land this autumn in South Korea, the people who elected the 15,000 local authorities in place of Syngman Rhee's officials, know what they are

losing. That is what the usurping group, falsely-styled 'the United Nations', turn out to mean for the peoples of Asia.

Let Labour Ministers and the capitalist press prate about 'collective security' and 'rehabilitation' to delude the millions of British workers. Let them ignore and conceal the mass of evidence of American aggression in South Korea from 1945 to 1948, and then of American preparation for aggression against North Korea since 1949, which has now accumulated. Let them flagrantly violate the elementary safeguards which were put into the Charter of the United Nations—the right of China to be present at the Security Council: the latter able to take no valid decisions in her absence: the right of both parties to a dispute, even non-members of the United Nations, to be heard: the duty to promote peace, not extend war. The grim and inescapable fact remains that for the peoples of Asia today the name of British Labour ranks with those that reek of blood and of exploitation. In Korea as in Malaya and Indo-China, the flags of the Western democracies mean the reimposition by fire and terror of rule by foreign bankers, foreign planters, foreign investors and their native political agents.

For many weeks now the discussions on Korea at the United Nations have brought out this essential truth. Some account of their first stages was given in the September *Labour Monthly*. The debates at the General Assembly which opened on September 19 were even more expressive, because they were held against the background of the American-British counter-attack in Korea. Throughout it was not argument that won the day: it was the American voting machine, which (as *The Times* correspondent put it the same day) 'usually controls the almost decisive vote of the Latin-American *bloc*', supported by that of the British Government, which has a number of equally docile supporters and puppets.

Thus it was that the Assembly (September 19) followed the previous lead of the Security Council in rejecting India's proposal to seat the Chinese People's Republic, by 33 to 16 with 10 abstentions—although China is Korea's neighbour, and although—as the Indian delegate recalled later—the vote concealed the real relationship of 809 million people against 412 millions. Thus it was that the Assembly's Political Committee (October 1) refused to give a hearing to North Korea, by 46 to six with seven absentions; on the same day the Security Council rejected by nine votes to one, with one abstention, the Soviet proposal to condemn the bombing horrors in Korea: and the Assembly in full session (October 7) did the

same, by 52 votes to five, with three abstentions. So also the General (Steering) Committee of the Assembly (October 4) decided to include the 'question of Formosa' in the Assembly's agenda, by 10 votes to three—despite the solemn wartime declarations that Formosa was a part of China—and the Assembly itself confirmed this gross and provocative insult to the Chinese people (October 7) by 42 votes to seven, with eight abstentions.

But the most revealing of the discussions on Korea were those which went on from September 28 to October 7, on schemes for a settlement in Korea. The British proposals, supported by Australia, Pakistan and a string of American satellites, were a clear and unmistakable invitation to MacArthur to occupy North Korea, to install a police state there of the same kind that he erected after September, 1945, in the South, and then, after making the whole country thus safe for foreign investors, to withdraw his forces.

They laid down that 'all appropriate steps' be taken to ensure 'conditions of stability throughout Korea'—and events had already shown that obliteration-bombing of an entire population was entirely 'appropriate' if the North Korean people did not trust themselves to the tender mercies of the U.S.A. Elections were to be held 'under the auspices of the United Nations', with a mainly American and American-puppet army in charge—and experience of 1947 and 1950 elections had been attested by the obedient United Nations Commission itself to show that terrorism of candidates and voters, wholesale arrests and murders, large-scale falsification of voting, had prevailed under those very conditions. These elections were to set up a 'democratic Government'—when experience earlier this year had shown that the defeat of 70 per cent. of the American puppet candidates had made no difference to the Government, and when (as *The Times* correspondent admitted on October 14) the Korean Party of Labour, organiser of trade unions and social life in the North, would be suppressed as it had been in the South. The foreign army was to remain in Korea 'so far as necessary'—when as Vyshinsky pointed out (October 4), the U.S. Government had shown from 1947 onwards, by its rejection of the Soviet proposal for simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops to allow for free elections jointly organised by North and South, that it has its own ideas of what is 'necessary'. Authority meanwhile was to be exercised by a new United Nations Commission, and pending its arrival in Korea by an inter-governmental committee in Washington, which would 'consult with and advise' the United

Nations unified command—when MacArthur has for five years, in his rôle as the White Mikado of Japan, shown his brutal contempt for a similar United Nations body of advisers, representing the principal Powers. In short, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Chinese People's Republic pointed out (October 10):

In these circumstances all references to the so-called 'holding of elections', 'establishment of a unified, independent and democratic government' and 'realisation of economic restoration in Korea' only serve as a screen for the United States and its accomplices to camouflage the realisation of their plans to prolong the war and extend aggression.

Against these proposals the Soviet Union, supported by Poland and Czechoslovakia as well as Ukraine and Byelorussia, put forward (October 2) a resolution based on the principles which its delegates had adopted from the start, long before the reversal of fortunes at the front, and aiming at a rapid and peaceful settlement leaving the Koreans free to decide their own fate. It proposed that military operations cease immediately, and United States and other foreign troops be immediately withdrawn. A joint meeting of the two Assemblies was to be held, in which—notwithstanding the disparity in membership (200 in the South, over 500 in the North)—an equal number of representatives from each side was to be constituted as a Commission to hold free countrywide elections to a National Assembly. The joint meeting was also to elect a provisional committee to administer the country. To supervise the elections, a United Nations commission was to be set up, including the states bordering on Korea, i.e. the U.S.S.R. and China. The Economic and Social Council was to work out plans, *with representatives of Korea*, for economic and technical aid to the Korean people *through the United Nations organisation*. When a regular all-Korean Government had been formed, the Security Council should consider admitting Korea to the United Nations.

This resolution was fiercely denounced—not because of imaginary fears that North Korea would immediately resume the fighting, since in that case the Americans and their friends would have raised the practical question of an Armistice Commission, as they did in Palestine and Indonesia. It was precisely because they knew that the association of China and the U.S.S.R. with the supervising body would give the North Koreans confidence and effectively prevent any further fighting that they rejected the Soviet proposal—as they rejected the similar scheme, at an earlier stage, put forward by Nehru and endorsed by Stalin, to be operated by a full

Security Council. It was precisely because they knew that free and unfettered elections, held under genuine international supervision, would give an immense majority of the Party of Labour that the Acheson-Bevin gang refused such free elections. It was precisely because they wanted the so-called 'rehabilitation' of Korea to be arranged through the American monopolies, over the heads of the Korean people, that they rejected the very pointed proposals of the Soviet delegation.

The debate on the two proposals has rarely had its equal in brutality and cynicism at international assemblies. 'The North Korean Army must be utterly destroyed' proclaimed Spender, the Australian Foreign Minister. No resolution must be allowed to 'hamper military operations', said the Canadian Foreign Secretary Pearson. When Nehru, declaring (October 2) that if the war continued, peace negotiations would be held only on 'the corpse of Korea', proposed a compromise—that both resolutions be passed to a sub-committee of seven, of which three should be Asiatic, to work out some agreement, this was sneered at as 'unrealistic', in the true tones of Mussolini and Hitler. It was only prompted by 'Indian fears that the Korean conflict would extend', wrote *The Times* correspondent (October 4): his inspirers, of course, were not worried by any such prospect. Blood, massacre, bombing, corpses which would do MacArthur's 'old eyes good'—this was the almost audible demand of the imperialist delegations.

By 46 votes to five, with eight abstentions, the Political Committee (October 4) rejected the Soviet resolution. By 47 votes to five, with seven absentions, it adopted that of the American-British *bloc*. By 32 votes to 24, with three abstentions, it rejected India's proposal. The Assembly followed suit. Mr. Younger gave a 'solemn assurance' (October 6), on behalf of Britain's Labour Government, that fears about the aims of the 'United Nations forces' were unfounded: they would not stay longer than their 'limited objectives' demanded. What those objectives were, *The Times* Seoul correspondent was already revealing on October 9, when he wrote of the Americans being powerless to restrain their murderous puppets, whose massacres were 'a strange way of bringing about the unification of the country'. He also let slip that the new United Nations Commission would have to stay in Korea 'for years to come'. But, of course, by that time the General Assembly had safely steam-rolled through the British resolution, by 47 votes to five, with eight abstentions. A new and criminal step forward in

the murdering of the Korean people had been taken—and a step nearer made towards the armed aggression against China, the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies for which the Korean adventure was the prelude.

Compared with this major crime, all other proceedings at the General Assembly were secondary. Yet mention must be made of another debate, begun with a speech by Acheson on September 21, continued in a minor key all through the Korea discussions, resumed on October 9 at the Political Committee on a grand scale, and still not completed by the third week in October. This was the question of 'United Action for Peace' on which Mr. John Foster Dulles presented a draft resolution on October 9, on behalf of the United States with its two Great Power satellites—Britain and France—two of its medium satellites—Canada and Turkey—and two quite tiny satellites, one might almost say colonies—Uruguay and the Philippines. The proposals concerned—which, *The Times* United Nations correspondent admitted (October 9), 'undoubtedly go beyond the letter of the San Francisco Charter'—provide for a means of organising military action by a coalition led by the U.S.A. even though the Charter would not allow it.

This was not a chance proposal, nor the fruit of passing invitation. To see it in proper perspective, the reader must recall the last years of the League of Nations (1933-1939) when Germany, Japan and Italy were preparing for a new war to redivide the world, and the British, French and American Governments were doing their best to turn that war against the U.S.S.R., China and the smaller nations of Europe. The further the preparations advanced, the more cumbersome and obstructive proved even the very mild restrictions on aggression which the Covenant of the League of Nations provided. First Japan, then Germany, finally Italy, left the League. After the shameful betrayal of Ethiopia in 1935-36, a movement began in the League itself—openly led by the British Government, supported inside by France and outside by the U.S.A.—to 'reform the Covenant', make it 'more elastic' and 'less rigid': in Litvinov's words, 'to make the League safe for aggressors'. This movement was accelerated when the Spanish Republic was attacked in 1936 by Germany and Italy, working through their puppet Franco, in much the same way as the U.S.A. and Britain, working through the American puppet Syngman Rhee, attacked the Korean Democratic Republic, and the British and French Governments were hard put to it to find an excuse for not answering the appeal

of their fellow-member of the League, Republican Spain, under the League Covenant.

In those years, it was expedient to make aggression safe by nullifying Article 16 of the Covenant, which provided the chance to demand military action against the Fascist aggressors. Today, the problem is to nullify the special position (under the United Nations Charter) of the Security Council—since its rule requiring unanimity of the five Great Powers, themselves, hampers aggression by the U.S.A. and British Governments against the U.S.S.R. and People's China, themselves members of the Security Council. True, the Charter makes it exceptionally difficult. But what are lawyers for?

Hence the scheme—only to be invoked should there be ‘failure of unanimity of a permanent member of the Security Council’ (as though we didn’t know)—for the earmarking of military units in all national armies, ‘so trained and organised that they could be promptly made available for United Nations service’. And which will be the largest unit in that ‘service’, with whose training and organisation the other units must obviously fit in? As if you didn’t know! There is to be a panel of military experts ‘to guide states who ask for advice’—just as there is under the North Atlantic Pact: and whose experts have the chief say in such a situation? As if you didn’t know! There is to be an emergency session of the Assembly, called at 24 hours notice, whenever required by a majority of United Nations members or by *any* seven members of the Security Council, thus breaking an explicit provision (Article 20) in the Charter. And such an Assembly may recommend ‘military action to be taken against those whom its majority proclaim an aggressor’—an equally flagrant breach of Articles 24, 39, 42 and 48 of the Charter, which explicitly reserve such powers for the Security Council. This is not a lawyer’s point: it was devised by the Great Powers, on whose decision in the long run world peace and world war depend, precisely in order to make the unleashing of world war more difficult.

But that is the very reason why the rulers of America and their faithful satellites in Europe want to circumvent, thwart and nullify the power of the Security Council. They want to render world war more easy.

These were the points made in a series of brilliant speeches by A. Y. Vyshinsky and by the delegates of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Nor was it purely their legal acuteness that caused such a loyal correspondent as that of *The Times* to admit that the American

proposals aroused growing 'doubt and criticism' (October 11), that 14 amendments reflected 'various doubts' in the Political Committee on their 'strict legality' (October 12), that the British delegate Soskice was hard at work trying to provide 'a considered refutation' of the legal arguments put forward (October 13), and that (when he did put them forward in a speech reminiscent of an employer's representative trying to argue against paying compensation to an injured workman) he found it a 'somewhat delicate task' to justify the 'disputed provisions' of Acheson's plan 'by the strict letter of the Charter' (October 17).

But the determination to carry the point by brute majority, irrespective of law or argument, was perfectly clear. Any Soviet amendments were to be rejected: they made the scheme merely 'an empty echo of the Charter'—and, after all, how could that be tolerated, when the purpose was to make the Charter safe for American aggression? Vyshinsky tabled formal counter proposals on October 11, based on Article 106 of the Charter—that, pending full arrangements by the Security Council for military organisation to protect the peace, the five Great Powers were 'to consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations, with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organisation as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security'. But hadn't the U.S.S.R. been pressing for such peace consultations by the Big Five for years? Hadn't the American and British Governments been rejecting them? Why, for that very reason America was still keeping China out of the Security Council! Away with the Vyshinsky proposals! They create the danger of peace.

This, then, was the situation reached by mid-October. An iniquitous war on the Korean people of the same bloody character as other colonial wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but far worse in its international implications, was being used in its turn as the occasion for destroying the machinery built up by the Governments at the end of the second world war, and thus preparing a third. Can any clearer evidence be required of the urgent necessity for the peoples of the world stepping forward and calling a halt to this insane but none the less criminal drive to war? Could there be a more striking illustration of the timeliness of the Second World Peace Congress, assembling at Sheffield precisely in order to devise ways and means of giving the most effective expression to the will of the common people of all nations for peace?

Yet it is upon the British people, and the British working class in particular, that peculiar responsibility rests. Without British support in Europe and Asia, the American juggernaut would be powerless. Without the British 'aircraft carrier', the United States intended bombing massacres cannot take place. It is British working class votes which put in office once again, this year, the leaders whose actions in the United Nations are those of a jackal to the American vulture. Upon British people in particular devolves the special responsibility of assuring an imposing reply at Sheffield to the crimes of Lake Success, of paralysing the preparations of the warmakers by multiplying the effectiveness of the organised campaign for peace.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

ANGLO-RUSSIAN UNITY

THE danger of war is becoming nearer and more evident. The Anglo-Russian Conference last April, in the following words, expressed the situation as it had developed up to that time: 'Already it would appear that a new war, more terrible, more monstrous than hitherto, is being prepared'.

These words still preserve and maintain their full force. Already in Morocco, in Syria, in China, the thunder of warfare is giving evidence of the justice of this warning. War is being waged upon the Riffs in Morocco, and upon the Arabs in Syria, while the Chinese workers and peasants revolting against exploitation and usurpation are held down by armed force. This is making clear to all workers of the world the insincerity of the lofty professions of peace made by capitalist statesmen.

The Guarantee Pact places upon Germany the duty of using sanctions (military and economic penalties) against the States unwilling to submit to the League of Nations. The object of this is to include Germany in a military alliance directed against the U.S.S.R. (Soviet Russia). This would make Germany a constant menace to Soviet Russia, and at the same time would create in Germany a strategical base for any projected attack upon the Soviet Republics.

The establishment of an all-inclusive world-wide Trade Union International has therefore become more necessary than ever. The world-wide and active sympathy aroused by the creation of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council among the workers of all countries is an unmistakable proof of the justice and correctness of the line taken by the Anglo-Russian Conference, of the practical proposals adopted, and of the inevitable success of the cause of national and international trade union unity. The Joint Advisory Council, prompted by the firm desire ardently expressed by more

than 11,000,000 British and Russian workers, appeals to the workers of every country, to their organisations and leaders, to join their efforts with the British and Russian trade union movements, in order to secure the removal of all obstacles and difficulties in the way of national and international working-class unity, and to help them to bring into existence one all-inclusive world-wide federation of trade unions.

From the Joint Declaration of the British and Russian T.U.C.s in *The World of Labour*, November, 1925.

Book Reviews

RUSSIA'S TRADUCERS ANSWERED

Russia With Our Own Eyes. (128 pp., British Workers Delegation, 9d.)

So once more the 'Iron Curtain' has been pierced! Not by spies, whose cunning has enabled them to circumvent the defences of the free democracies, but by the honest, average, British worker, at the invitation of the metropolis of the new socialist world.

When on a visit to Czechoslovakia about a year ago, in company with a similar delegation, of which I was Chairman, we had a peculiar experience of police measures in this part of Europe. Our charabanc had collided with a motorcar on the outskirts of Prague, and it appears that there is a law which requires the parties to a collision to report to the police before leaving the scene of the incident. We hooted and searched for nearly an hour in the vain endeavour to find a policeman, and in the end gave it up and departed to participate in our overdue dinner. We never found a member of the so-called 'gestapo'!

Now a number of trade unionists have been to the U.S.S.R. and have seen for themselves what is happening in this, the first socialist country. They have been able to examine the progress of the various plans of reconstruction, interrupted as they have been by intervention, blockade,

famine and finally, the Hitler war. I well remember the days when Lenia made the declaration of the New Economic Policy (which some who are now in the British Labour Government, described as a retreat from socialism); how the first Five-Year Plan was launched to lay the basis of a prosperous socialist economy; and how mines and factories—which could not pay dividends for many years—were brought into being, so that machinery could be produced in the second Five-Year Plan which would enable sufficient consumer goods to be available on a scale that would demonstrate the superiority of socialist society.

Then Hitler struck, encouraged by all those who hoped to save capitalist society by suppressing socialist achievements. In spite of casualties beyond the conception of the human mind, and the destruction of property on a scale hitherto beyond comprehension, the Soviet Union has emerged more powerful and with

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Eric Hobshawm
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allies in Europe and Asia which now represent half the population of the world.

This booklet, very cheap at nine-pence, gives the full report of this workers' delegation, elected from workshops or trade union bodies. This report, which stands comparison with the famous T.U.C. delegation of 1924-5 in the thoroughness and painstaking way enquiry was made into Soviet conditions, is supplemented by over a score of individual reports from the delegates, each handling a subject in which he found particular interest, whether an industry or factory, town or countryside, education, public health or religion. On religion three wrote: one begins

The following delegates attended High Mass on Sunday, May 14, at St. Ludovic's Church in Moscow. Bro. Riley, Newcastle Catholic; Bro. Gilliam, London Catholic; Bro. Devanny, London Catholic; Bro. Hutton, Billingham, ex-Catholic; Bro. Martin, Aberdeen, ex-Catholic; Bro. Wilson, non-Catholic, Glasgow. We set out with three interpreters and arrived shortly after Mass had started.

Whatever they had been told on this subject before they set out was brought to the test of fact and experience.

Similarly with other questions, the reality they found was very different from what they had been told by the press, of whose behaviour they now make strong complaint. For example, a Chesterfield metal turner (like most of them a member of the Labour Party) writes

Before my visit to the U.S.S.R. I looked upon the Russian trade union movement as a body who were replacing the old capitalist employer and wielding the same old weapons as they to get discipline and production from the workers.

Again, a national trade union

organiser, who examined the Soviet Health services, remarks

This system, of providing an all-round service in one building, has been going on in the Soviet Union for twenty years or more. We were to have had something like it with our National Health Service, but when economies were made, Health Centres were dropped.

So I could go on, quoting from page after page of this report of what ordinary British workers saw 'with their own eyes'. Of the highest interest is Wainwright's clear and detailed comparison of wages and earnings with the cost of living, both in Britain and the U.S.S.R. Taken as a whole, this is a report that should be in every workshop in our country.

The delegation found a socialist country which has not been deflected from its perspectives, even by the most disastrous war in human history. That there are shortcomings is not denied. Its aim, however, remains to establish living and working conditions which will cause the workers of every country to emulate the socialist world. If the Soviet Union is freed from the threat of an aggressive war against socialist society, it can establish conditions of living and working which will revolutionise human society.

The Trade Union delegation found what has been accomplished in the face of war and threat of war. I

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wonder what would have been their findings had war been avoided and the Soviet Union been able to concentrate on its efforts to ensure peaceful production for socialist prosperity?

A. L. HORNER.

A SANE PEOPLE

Soviet Psychiatry, by Joseph Wortis. (314 pp. Williams & Wilkins, Baltimore, U.S.A. 5\$.)

In view of the spate of books and other material in English on psychiatry many are anxious to know what the Soviet attitude is on the subject. Until the appearance of Wortis' well-written, knowledgeable and comprehensive book bristling with references and extracts from Soviet medical literature, very scanty material was available to satisfy the English reader who wished to know how the Russians deal with mental illness. As Wortis points out they do so mainly by the method of prevention. Indeed the whole framework of

Socialist society is calculated to promote mental health, for it at once protects the individual from the greed of an exploiting class and allows him to develop in full measure his creative talent and to expand to the full stature of human dignity.

Wortis gives a brief review of Russian psychiatry since the revolution and shows how the Soviets coped with the immense burden of mental ill-health left by Tsarism, war, famine and pestilence. He says that in October 1917, 'the bars were removed, both actually and symbolically, from Russian asylums and a new orientation began, based on prevention, active treatment and human regard'.

Like other branches of Soviet science, Soviet psychiatry is firmly based on materialism and Wortis' book has a preliminary chapter on dialectical materialism in its application to psychiatry, for the benefit of those unfamiliar with the Marxist approach. The volume also includes a valuable translation of Chernakov's critique of Professor Rubinstein's text-book of psychology, valuable, firstly because of the light which it throws on the current drastic overhaul of Soviet scientific theory and second because it once more refutes the old lie that free criticism is not permitted in the Soviet system.

The U.S.S.R. does not consider psychiatry primarily the concern of the medical practitioner but rather of the teacher and the educationist. The problems of child guidance, therefore, if they are not averted by the healthy social relationships of the Soviet child tend to be referred to the teacher rather than to the psychiatrist. A review of Soviet psychiatry therefore concerns itself very largely with the physical and work therapy methods preferred in post-revolutionary Russia where even the mentally handicapped are encouraged to make their full contribution to peaceful construction.

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The fund for September shows signs of robust health; but this is due largely to several big gifts, notably one from 'Amicus Pacis' (or Peace-Lover). That doesn't mean we don't prize highly the comparatively small sums, like that from a '78-years-young' Cheshire reader, who, in sending us shillings, wishes 'they were pounds'. There's an extra 10s. from a regular donor 'in honour of R.P.D.'s September Notes', which another reader thinks ought to be broadcast to the world; from Scotland 5s. 'to help in your fight for peace'; and from Notts, 'toward your mission of enlightenment for the muzzle-led'. Finally, 'Islingtonian' thinks London boroughs should be separately represented among the stand-in and steady money groups; while taking on Islington herself, she stands-in for 'our St. Pancras neighbours', which I take as a personal affront that I can't take up, members of the staff not being in the running. I shall, however, be looking some of my St. Pancras friends squarely between the eyes from now on, until our borough has been rescued from the stand-in. What! allow the old home of Karl Marx and Bernard Shaw to be under the shadow of patronage from Islington? The September fund was

£60 18s. 1d.

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D. Mayo, standing-in for Plymouth and Rottingdean, 2s; J. Tuckett, standing-in for Manchester, 1s; 'Billie', standing-in for 'Toxypany', in memory of Lewis Jones', 1s; 'Socialist Airman', standing-in for Merthyr Tydfil, 1s; 'Exeter', standing-in for Birmingham, Crediton, Dublin, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Norwich, Swansea, Turton (Lanes.) and Weymouth, 8s; C. M. Hall, standing-in for Ayr, Brechin, Thurso and Wick (prepaid).

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Nita, 'in memory of Bert McDonald, of Dundee', 7s; Anon., 'Whitechurch', 1s; C.B., for 'Bristol', 1s 6d; 'Exeter', 2s, and 'in honour of R.P.D.'s September Notes', 10s; J. and K. Ekevall, for 'East Edinburgh', 2s 6d; 'Anon.' for 'Central Edinburgh', 5s; E.A.C. for 'Horsham', 5s; 'Leicester', 5s; E.R. for 'Westcliff', 2s 6d; 'Kingussie' for 'Inverness' (pre-paid); C. M. Hall for 'Grangemouth' (prepaid); 'Aberdeen' (pre-paid); 'New York' (pre-paid); 'Belfast' (pre-paid); 'Ilfracombe' (pre-paid); 'Ipswich' (pre-paid); 'Socialist Airman' for Taunton, 1s; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; D. Mayo, 10s; J. Tuckett, 1s; J. MacDonald, 4s 3d; H.G.B., 2s; E. D. McAllum, 5s; H. N. Humphries, 5s 6d; G. M. Harrison, £2 5s; L. Rowan, 6s; K. Kennedy, 2s 6d; G. E. and M. F. A. Philibert, 5s; R.F.B., £5; H.S.M., 2s 6d; T.W.R., 10s; 'L'Humanité', 3s; A.F.O., 2s; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s; R. McLeod, 5s; O. Greene, £2; S. Mill, 10s; S. Morrissey, 10s; Royston Green, 3s 6d; F. Renouf, 5s; H. Tinkler, 5s; T. Flood, 2s 6d; D. Rees, 10s; 'Director', £2; D.M., 6s; J. A. Purton, 7s 6d; M.S. (U.S.A.), 7s; R.B. (British Columbia), 12s 8d.

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